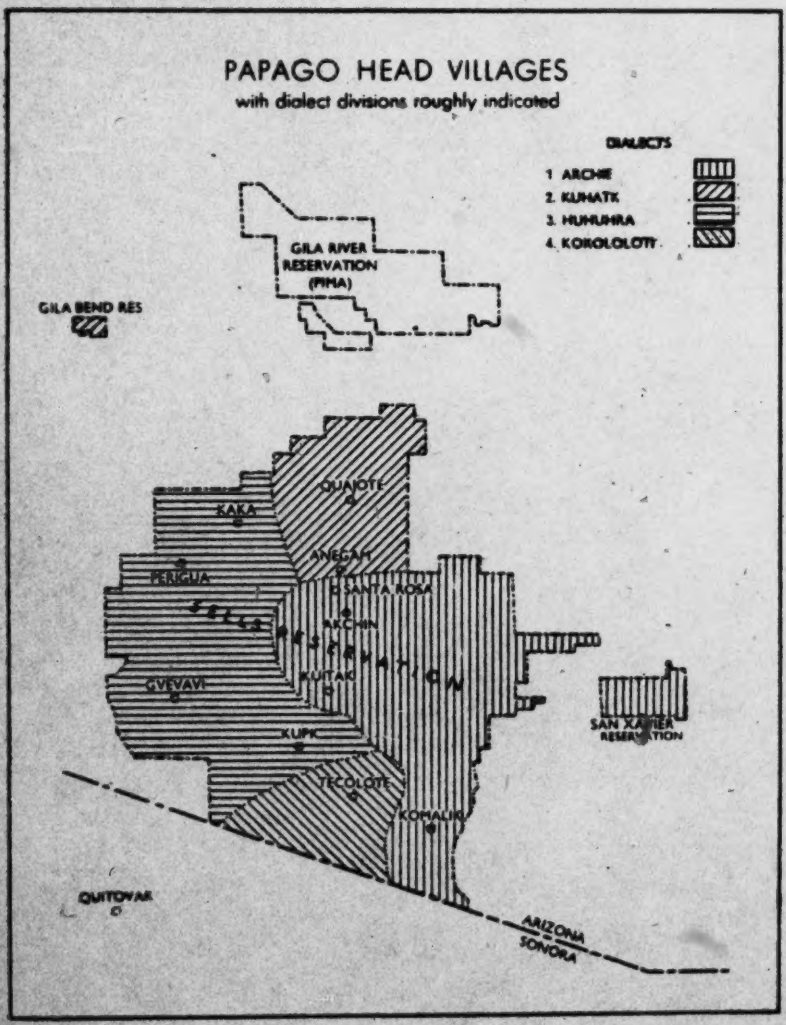
2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

131
197



[p. xi]

2:Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

LOCATION AND HISTORY

Location

Pa Pi 101 131

The Papago are to be found on three reservations in the southwest corner of Arizona, adjoining Mexico. Their country was under Mexican rule until the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 and, with that of the Gila Pima, it once bore the Spanish name of Pimeria Alta (Upper Pimeria). All its inhabitants were known as Pimas by the Spanish and by themselves as o'otam. They consider themselves one people, though they distinguish River People now called by the Whites Pimas, and Desert People, called Papago. For convenience [128] we shall allude to the combined people as Pimans. Their language is the same, with minor variations, many of them due to the influence of English on the north and Spanish on the south. Migration and interchange have been so constant that statements as to habitat and history must include both groups.

Pa Pi

The Pimans were found by the first Spaniards living where they do now though in a little wider territory. Their stretch of desert, two hundred miles long by two hundred and fifty wide, lay like a roughly shaped diamond, with its long axis along the present international boundary. It was a barren stretch, containing no streams at all, but it was roughly outlined by water courses: at the north the Gila, at the south, the little Altar, which loses itself in the sand before reaching the Gulf of California, at the east, the San Pedro flowing north to the Gila. At the west, the driest part of Pimeria, nearly uninhabited, touched the Gulf of California.

Pa Pi 197

The Pimans are the northernmost of an almost unbroken line of Uto-Aztecan speaking peoples, stretching from the neighborhood of Mexico City along the western edge of the plateau with extensions into the foothills and the plains beneath. All practised agriculture, wherever the country permitted and often irrigation also. On the plateau, at the south, were to be found such people as the Aztecs, with their intensive agriculture and complex organization; beyond, in the mountains, the Cora and Huichol, whose agriculture had, of necessity remained simple but whose ceremonies and handicraft were most elaborate. Further north came the ruder Cahita and Tarahumare and, stretching down past them, through Sonora and Durango, a group of agriculturists and irrigators comprising the Tepehuane, the Nevome or Lower Pima, the Opata, Tepecano and, at the north, extending into desert country, our subject, the Upper Pima.

2:Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa
Pi
197

This series of southern Uto-Aztecans has been variously classified into sub-groups[1] but recent studies tend to minimize the distinctions.[2] However, there is agreement to the effect that Piman, as spoken by both the Upper and Lower Pima, finds its closest affiliations with Tepecano and Tepehuane. Whorf would even call the three one language, with separate dialects.[3] These linguistic relatives of the Pimans are now so merged with the Mexican population that it is difficult to reconstruct their culture. Information must come largely from Spanish sources, which mention their irrigation;[4] their houses of wattle and daub or of adobe;[5] their cotton raising and cotton garments.[6] They were apparently, agriculturists and irrigators who shared many customs with the Pima, as first known to history. Similar in culture, though slighty variant in language, were the Opata, wedged between the Upper and Lower Pima so closely that Spanish writers sometimes generalized about the whole area as one.

Pa
Pi
174

The country occupied by these congeners of the Pimans ranged from the tree clad mountain slopes of the Tepehuane to the lowlands of the Opata where oak and grass began to give way to desert vegetation. It was cut by small streams, flowing ultimately toward the Gulf of California and in whose valleys clustered the wattle and daub houses, with their irrigated fields. But, toward its northern end, it dipped into the hot, low Colorado Desert and the last of its irrigated valleys, that of the Gila, was separated from the others by an expanse of arid country where agriculture could scarcely survive. This was the country of the Papago. It was a tongue of the western desert thrust into an agricultural area and it forced its inhabitants to a different way of life from that of their congeners to north and south.

North of it was the Gila whose valley was, as far as the accounts can show, a cruder version of the irrigated valleys of Sonora. This was a frontier beyond which irrigation stopped, for to the west, stretched the Colorado Desert: to the north the Colorado Plateau rose in an abrupt wall. At this point, the line of Uto-Aztecans was broken. It was resumed on the Plateau, in the Hopi villages and continued north through the Basin and Range Country, among groups of largely nomadic food gatherers. To the west, beyond the

---

[1] Kroeber, 1934, p. 16.
[2] Whorf, 1935, p. 608.
[3] Whorf, 1935, p. 608.
[4] Beals, 1932, p. 158.
[5] Beals, 1932, p. 176.
[6] Beals, 1932, pp. 170, 172, 173.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

permanent villages in their own right. Certainly the yearly migration of the population and its dual residence, will become a thing of the past.

The eleven village units form the outstanding divisions in the Papago country and the loyalty of each individual is above everything else, to his village and its "partners". But the units are gathered into dialect groups, each with very different affiliations. The groups have no governmental or ceremonial significance and their members intermarry, though generally they prefer not to do so on account of divergent customs. The differences between them are fast disappearing and to find the points presented here required a long search. Many of the influences which have caused differentitation may be recent but it is not impossible that some of the lines of cleavage are very ancient ones and reflect a difference between the early Hohokam and those who accepted Pueblo acculturation. There follows a list of the dialect divisions, with their component village units and such historic data as are available for each. This list is in substantial accord with the excellent map published by Hoover[1], who has done painstaking work in tracing village descent. At the end of the chapter is a condensed chart, giving the names in common use (which may be Spanish, English, or adapted Papago), the Papago names and translation.

Papago-Dialect Groups and Village Units

1. Archie dialect group

These are the Papago proper, the people on whom the name of Bean Eaters was originally bestowed. They have an opprobrious nickname, totokuanyi (loose gee string) never used by themselves. For clarity, they may here be spoken of as the Archie group, Archie being their oldest and most important village. It is this group which, tradition says, came up from underground and followed Elder Brother, finally planting their prayer stick on the site of Archie and thence populating the land. They are the people whose ceremonies show the greatest amount of Pueblo influence. The Pima, with whom they are closely associated, would seem to have provided the channel.

This group occupies a long north-and-south valley in the eastern part of the reservation, not far from the Pima. Their dialect is more like that of the Pima than are those of the other divisions and such of their customs as can be compared with the Pima show a

[1] Hoover, 1936.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

close resemblance. Comparison however, is difficult since the Pima have undergone such rapid acculturation in recent years. Kino, visiting these people in 1689, before they had received the name of Papago, found them in close communication with the people of the Gila[1] from whom, apparently, they had learned to receive him "with arches and crosses." This communication continues, many of the Archie people having relatives in Pima country and going there regularly to help in the harvest.

The Archie group was the one furthest from Spanish influence and acculturation has been slower there than in the south. Few of the people speak Spanish and few over forty speak any English. They did not begin to keep cattle until long after the southerners. Basketry still flourishes among them and even the old plaiting technique is occasionally found. They retain many of the old ceremonies abandoned elsewhere. The important Pueblоan ceremony of the Wiikita "belongs to them because it is they who have the songs and the scraping stick." They have also, in every village, the old ceremonial leader, in addition to the modern "governor" and have usually an ancient round ceremonial house. Aapap and apki sibs predominate and are the ones featured in ceremonies.

The Archie division includes four village units, that of Archie itself, Mesquite Root, Akchin, and Komelik. These have a closer approach to federation than have any of the other villages, acknowledging the Archie chief as their leader, much as the Pima acknowledged the chief at Sacaton. Their statement is that all of them "the true Papago" settling at Archie scattered seed which blew down the valley as far as Mesquite Root, thus establishing their claim to the land. Komelik, which is even farther away was a later offshoot.

Archie Village Units

Archie (astci, the Narrow Place)

At the head of the Santa Rosa Valley. Oldest settlement of the Papagos proper, and head village of its dialect division. Locale of the quadrennial harvest fest which is performed only by the four village units of this division. The village was visited in 1698 by Kino who found seven hundred people there and called it "the great rancheria of Adid" which he re-named San Francisco.[2] Archie's present Well is Cirenaca (siri nakia, saddle hanging) or San Lorenzo, and a few people have Fields at Beebhak.

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 396.
[2] Bolton, 1936, p. 398.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

another well. Others went to wahw kĭhk, (Standing Rock) abandoned that, and moved across the road to San Isidro (havanyi nakia, Hanging Crow). All these offshoots considered themselves under the governor of kuitatk, while that village still existed and ultimately under the governor of Archie. However, they had a subsidiary governor and a ceremonial leader of their own, located at San Pedro but they have grown so fast that they are considering a governor at San Isidro also.

Other offshoots of kuitatk are: Santa Cruz, Rincon Jeowic, Alamo, Chuapo, Artesia.

Komalik (komarik, Flat Place)

This is the southernmost of the Archie village units, near the Mexican border and under the shadow of the Baboquivari Range, the dwelling of Elder Brother. It is the rancheria of Baggiburi, reported by Kino to have five hundred inhabitants.[1] It acknowledges relationship to Archie but is too far away to join in the quadrennial harvest feast. Its neighbors, some of them interspersed among the Komalik Wells belong to the southern or Mexican dialect division and are considered almost as foreigners by the dwellers of Komalik who still have the speech of the north and many of its rituals. Komalik has moved slightly from its former position at kom wo'o (Mulberry Pond) which was too open to the Apache. Its present Well is Bear Well.

Its oldest offspring is the neighboring village of Chulic, whose inhabitants are said to have been frightened out of Komalik by the Apache. Chulic also uses Bear Well.

Topawa is another offspring, originally called koks mĭhk (Burnt Dog). Its present name is also Papago, a White corruption of the Papago words ṭ pawi, it is a bean, used in answer to a question as to their crops. Topawa is headquarters for the Franciscan missionaries. It uses a well at Fresnal, although Fresnal is Koloti property, while its own well is called pi-t-oikam, (their special well).

2. KUHATK DIALECT GROUP

Kuhatk, meaning something dried and burnt, was spelled by the Spaniards *Quajote*. The name applies to a small strip of territory at the north of the reservation, between the Archie group and the Pima. It figures largely in the tale of conquest and it was here, in the early days of settlement that the best warriors were said to live. The Bitter Man at Kuhatk was leader in battle for his own group and for Archie.

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 399.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

621 Archie legend says that the kuhatk people moved to get better land and thus came closer to the Pima than to Archie. Certainly they were in close communication with the Pima when Kino found them. Their land was, for some time, included in the Pima reservation and it was not returned to the Papago until 1933. In the meantime, they had intermarried largely with the Pima and had also undergone much White influence. Though they may have once felt themselves a part of the Archie group, they now speak somewhat differently and are regarded as a separate unit. Still, it is obvious that Pima, kuhatk and Archie, form a group similar in dialect and customs and that later distinctions have been arbitrary.

Among the kuhatk, aapap and apki sibs predominate, as at Archie. There is the same conservatism in material culture as among the neighboring groups, but during the Pima connection, much kuhatk land was allotted, acculturation necessarily proceded faster, and many old ceremonies were lost. Anegam, the kuhatk village nearest to Archie, always remained part of the Papago reservation and being cut off from its congeners, joined with Archie in ceremonies. But it kept a certain connection with the people of hunuhra, the dialect division to the west, which sometimes shared the Anegam [578] Well. The result is a feeling of foreigness between Anegam and Archie, resulting in mutual ridicule and frequent quarrels between their children in the government school.

Kuhatk Village Units

621 Anegam (ánkam, Having Willows)

This is the first of the kuhatk towns, a close neighbor of Archie and Santa Rosa, joining with them in ceremonies. The village was in the same general locality in 1698 when Kino passed near it and sent its chief a wand of office.[1] Later it moved to ohn k wahwia, Salt Well, but this area, when the Papago reservation was formed, was left outside it so Anegam moved in close to Santa Rosa. The Wells it uses now are Montezuma Mine, Copperosity and klh wahwia (Big Wells). While Salt Well was still in use it was often shared with the people of Kaka, in the huhuhra division and many Anegam people are said to be huhuhra:

Quajote (kuhatk, Dried and Burnt)

This village, with those to follow, was in the strip left outside the reservation and not purchased until 1932. Its communications, therefore, have been with the Pima and many of its former residents are now on Pima land. Quajote received

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 398.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Kino in 1698 and sent runners into the desert to bring him water long before he arrived.[1] Kino gave to this village and to its near neighbor sihw oitak (Bitter Fields) the name of San Bonifacio and in the two together he found more than three hundred people. A cane of office was bestowed on the chief who accompanied Kino nearly to Archie. Communications at that time were close, both with the Gila Pimas who had sent word of the missionary's coming and with the Sóba Jípuris of the Santa Cruz, whom the Quajote people had just been aiding in a fight. Quajote Well is Bitter Well.

Other villages in the Quajote area are Chuchu (tcihtcih: caves) Kokomelik, perhaps visited by Kino and called el Cubit Tubic[2] and Wotum (Cockleburr) which was certainly visited. It was the nearest village to the Gila Pimas and apparently in close connection with them for it knew how to welcome the missionary with arches and crosses though no Spaniard had visited it before. Kino baptised five infants and a sick adult here and called the place San Angelo.

3. HUHUHRA DIALECT GROUP

Huhuhra means grandmother's children, *i. e.*, orphans and was bestowed on the people of Káka[3], one village of the group because they had no Well and wandered about sharing those of other village units. The huhuhra area is at the extreme west of Papago country running south into Mexico. Further west are mountains and uninhabitable desert which preclude expansion in that direction. The legend is that these people did not "come up from underground" but are the original inhabitants of the land, driven out by the Archie people. The site of magical events said to have taken place before the emergence (such as the death of the monster eagle) is placed in their territory. For this reason, huhuhra people are all rumored to have magic power and are looked on somewhat askance by the other groups. Some corroboration for the legend can be found in the fact that the huhuhra do not have the Pueblоan ceremony of the Wilkita, though they have the Mexican ceremonies of the drinking and the cleansing feasts. Their dialect is more like that of Archie than like the Hispanized speech of the south but it contains many incomprehensible words, said to be ancient. The huhuhra are the most primitive of Papago groups and the most conservative, having kept the old brush house long after it was abandoned in other parts of the reservation.

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 397. [2] Bolton, 1936, p. 399.
[3] Father Bonaventura.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

maki, (gray mountain) famous in Papago song, and Actum Grande, the Mouth of the Big Wash. With four hundred inhabitants Actum Grande had an offshoot — Gubo, the modern Cubo (kĭ wo'o, Big Pond), but in time the big pond disappeared, the whole valley became depopulated,[1] the Perigua people were invited down to repopulate Cubo, which therefore has an intimate connection with the older village. Its wells were below the border, Foam Well, Ground Owls and Sweet water. The small settlements around Camote, which was really only a field for gathering roots, use Molinitas, which is Tecalote's well. The northern ones used Red Well, until they themselves dug at Walls Well.

621

4. KOKOLOLOTI DIALECT GROUP

This division represents the extension, into American Papagueria, of the Hispanized area to the south. The Jesuit missions to the Pimans were, with the exception of San Xavier, all in what is now Mexico, on the Altar and San Ignacio rivers. But they had frequent communication with the heathen Pimas who came to stay for long periods working for their food and receiving religious instruction. There is record of Pimas from the Gila making this sort of visit but it must have been much more common among the southern Papagos, only a few days journey away, as are the villages on both sides of the present border.

621
197

Tecalote was one of those villages, with territory on both sides of the border. Its old Papago name tcukuht kuh, (owl cry) became translated into Mexican Tecalote (Nahua tecalotl, owl) and its people, by a doubly reduplicated plural are called kokololoti.[2] All its connections are with the river valleys of the present Mexico. Its dialect shows the influence of Spanish since it is not only interlarded with Spanish words but has lost the constant aspiration of the northern speech and substituted a lengthened vowel more in consonance with the Romance languages. The dialect is much ridiculed by the Archie people who profess not to understand it.

[186]

Most Tecalote people still speak Spanish. From the well stocked missions to the south, they learned the raising of cattle and began to own them and to ride horses long before either was custom reached the north. They were frequently called on for help by the Spanish and Mexican soldiers and many of them served as scouts and acquired guns before the northerners.

[1] Father Bonaventura.

[2] Papago words are all accented on the first syllable and since the language could not accept a word accented in the middle, it split it into two, *teca loti* and reduplicated both. The *te* got lost in the process.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A PAPAGO WOMAN

FOREWORD

THE Papago Indians live on three reservations in the southwest corner of Arizona, near the Mexican border. They belong to the Piman-Sonoran language group and are, in language and descent, identical with the Pima whom they call River People, while they themselves are Desert People. Both were found by the Spaniards in the country they now occupy, which extends from the Gila River in Arizona to the Altar River in Sonora, and which once constituted the ancient Spanish province of Upper Pimeria.

The first important contact of the Whites with Pimeria was at the end of the seventeenth century when the famous missionary, explorer, and business executive, Father Kino established his chain of missions in the Altar Valley. He made a few extensions into the present Arizona, notably at San Xavier, near the present Tucson, and he also toured the whole of Pimeria, not once but many times, distributing cattle and seeds, and baptizing the people with Spanish names. It was in his day that the Papago learned to spend the rainless and hungry winters at the pleasant Altar missions, learning the eighteenth century Spanish methods of farming, which some of them practise to this day.

But the desert country did not attract Spanish colonization. After Kino's time, such Spanish traits as reached the Papago were adopted after their yearly visits to Mexico, rather than forced on them by close contact. Pimeria adhered technically to the Spanish colonial system by which the head man of each village was elected by the people and confirmed in office by the provincial governor. But the lieutenant governor, the sheriff, and the church officers who should have completed the picture, were nonexistent. Church services were a form, continued side by side with the ancient ceremonies which persisted with a vitality impossible in the subjugated provinces of Mexico.

This condition of slow acculturation persisted until the Gadsden purchase in 1853. With this change, Pimeria was cut violently in two, the new international boundary running through its lower portion, the home of the Papago, and leaving half of them in the United States and half in Mexico. It was to Mexico that the Papago felt allegiance, for their desert country was still forbidding to both miners and ranchers, and they were left to follow their old customs almost unmolested. Not so with the Pima. Their fertile land, along the Gila, was directly in the track of the gold rush, the trappers, and the Apache fighters. The Pima supplied all these travellers with grain, and early established a relationship which made for swift acculturation not to Mexican standards but to American.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

619 101 which belongs to the Uto-Aztecan stock.[1] Among all there was a strong feeling of kinship, although the "Papago" feel themselves different from the "Pima."

161 101 657 The Desert People in the United States are officially consolidated into "The Papago Tribe of Arizona." About 5,900 of them live on the Papago Reservation, roughly a sixty-five-mile square lying along the southern border of Arizona between the Baboquivari Mountains on the east and the Ajo Mountains on the west, with an irregular line south of the Gila River as its northern boundary (see Map I). Others live near by on two smaller reservations: about 200 at Gila Bend to the northwest, and almost 500 at San Xavier to the east. Including a few members who live off the reservations, Papago now number close to 7,000, a large tribe which is increasing at the rate of over 1 per cent a year.

128 It is the Desert People, specifically those who live on the main Reservation, who are the subject of this study; they are referred to here as "the Papago" and their reservation as "the Reservation." Those herein called "the Pima" are the official "Pima tribe," who live on the Gila River and Salt River reservations to the north.

361 621 On the main Papago Reservation the people live on lonely ranches or in scattered, sprawling villages, many of which existed when the first Jesuit missionary, Father Kino, came in 1698. The village is the important unit among the Papago. It always consists of a group of related families, ranging in number from four or five to fifty or sixty household units, totaling perhaps three hundred individuals. However, there are only a few large villages: only thirty-six villages of more than fifty people on the entire Reservation. Sells, the seat of the government agency, has over one thousand inhabitants, but the number of white persons and the fact that many of the Papago families attracted there by government jobs are unrelated make this settlement atypical.

Villages are interrelated through the dialect groups. The original groups were first described by Father Kino, who thought of them as being virtually separate tribes (see chap. v). Since his time the various groups have moved to their present locations and have become officially consolidated into one tribe, but the divisions are still recognized by the Papago.

●197 631 The dialect groups have recently acquired political significance. In 1936 the Reservation was divided into nine districts, roughly equivalent to the dialect groups but also determined by administrative and economic consideratons (see Map I). The outlying San Xavier and Gila Bend reservations form two additional districts. Population in the districts on the main reservation varies from 1,200 in Sells to 250 in Gu Vo, the western districts being most thinly settled.

1. There are over fifty linguistic stocks in use among Indians of the United States and Canada today, some of them as different as English and Chinese (see Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, pp. 391–400).

(4) [Text continues on p. 7]

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

PEOPLE ON THE DESERT

The two largest Indian villages are in the central and southeastern sections of the Reservation—Topawa in Baboquivari and Gu Achi (Santa Rosa) in the Gu Achi District.

Unlike most Indian tribes in the United States, the Papago have rather recently come under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior; the main reservation (the last large one established) dates only from 1917. The local government agency at Sells on the Papago Reservation is also responsible for the San Xavier and Gila Bend reservations.

The Reservation population includes about fifty white government employees and their families, chiefly concentrated at Sells. Scattered over the Reservation are other white people—teachers in the schools under government or religious auspices, other members of the government and mission staffs, traders, and a few miners.

The Papago live on the land, as they have for centuries, by farming small fields and raising livestock, but in recent years they have depended increasingly on wage work on near-by ranches and farms and in mines as well as on employment by the government. Thus an alien culture is entering into their way of life—a culture that has already made a deep impression on the Desert People.

As a group the Papago do not much resemble the stereotype which the word "Indian" brings to the minds of most white people: tall gaunt men in eagle-feather headdresses and blanketed women carrying babies on their backs. Though most Papago are rather tall, have large shoulders and chests, and are inclined toward obesity,[2] some are small and slender, and others are of medium build. In all there is a delicacy of feet and hands which suggests small bones. Typical Papago have wide faces with rather heavy features; slanted eyes and long-lobed ears are common. They have dark-brown eyes and straight black hair. Many are dark-skinned, but much of this coloring is due to life in the sun; when a man rolls up his sleeves, one usually sees arms that are a soft yellowish brown.

Among the Desert People there are few extreme variations of physical type such as may be observed on reservations like the Sioux, where an Indian may have flaxen hair and blue eyes. Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of those on the tribal roll are "Papago-American," i.e., have white blood. But there is some Yaqui and other Indian blood among the Papago, and in recent years a few young Papago have married members of other Indian tribes they met at off-Reservation boarding schools.

2. See Norman Gabel, "A Comparative Racial Study of the Papago" (MS).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

UP TO THE PRESENT

EARLY RESERVATION DAYS

The third period of tribal history begins in the early 1870's when the Papago were placed under the jurisdiction of the Indian Agent on the Pima Reservation. In the beginning of this period the Desert People were still living almost as they had before they ever saw white men. At the end of it (about 1933) many individuals had already made an adjustment to white culture, and they foresaw that the tribe as a whole would also have to make a similar adaptation. 175

When the Apache wars ended, far-reaching changes began for the Papago. According to the calendar stick, in 1872 "the Apache were civilized," and in 1876 "the Papago made peace with the Apache." Actually the Apache were not subdued until 1885, when Geronimo surrendered to General Nelson A. Miles, but after the 1870's the marauders were kept busy by the American troops. No longer forced to protect themselves in the large defense villages (there seem to have been about eleven of them),[14] the Papago once again began to spread out. Many returned to the villages where their fields were and took up again the old cycle of planting and harvesting, going back to the mountain villages when the ponds went dry. Others, in search of new fields or better stocked hunting grounds, sought new sites as they still do today. It was usually a small group of close relatives who established these new villages, and that is why almost all the people in a village are related. The old people still know the defense villages from which their parents or grandparents came, but the relation between defense villages and modern settlements is not yet entirely clear, particularly in the western part of the Reservation. 175 361

In interpreting the relation between defense and later villages, it is important to note that, in general, the people from each of the centers seem to have a distinct dialect accompanied by certain character and cultural traits recognized by all the Papago. Specifically, there are six dialect groups on the Reservation living in definable areas. The people speaking each of these dialects came from one defense center, in some cases two or three neighboring centers. There are also people who speak what is recognized as a mixture of two contiguous dialects, and several of these mixed dialect groups also had their own defense centers. To judge from the cohesiveness of the dialect groups, they must have long felt themselves to be distinct entities. 175 197

There were other movements among the Papago during this period. The

14. J. W. Hoover, "Generic Descent of Papago Villages." Hoover also includes Quitovac as a "mother village" (as he calls the defense villages) of the "Sand Papago," but the villages descendent from Quitovac probably represent a migration into the United States rather than an effect of the vanquishing of the Apache.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

621 571 There is also intercourse between unrelated villages. For example, not every settlement has a store, and the most convenient place to buy supplies may not be in a related village. Nowadays there is intervillage political activity chiefly in the eastern districts.

DIALECT GROUPS

197 571 634 Next to the family and village, the most important social entity to a Papago is his dialect group. The nine districts into which the main Reservation was divided in 1935 are political units, and, though they coincide somewhat with the areas occupied by dialect groups, they are still too new and too little a part of the Papago pattern to command loyalty. One's dialect group, on the other hand, is made up of relatives, relatives of relatives, or at least of people having one's own colloquialisms, pronunciation, and traditions. Papago are always interested in talking about the groups and the real and fancied differences between them, many of which are accounted for in ancient legend. But the considerable interchange of teasing indicates deeper cleavage, as each Papago feels his own group to be "the" people.

There are probably six main dialect groups on the Reservation today, plus several mixed groups in areas where main dialect groups adjoin. Certain of these dialect groups may well be the modern descendants of the Piman divisions Father Kino called "tribes" (see chap. ii), which have migrated rather extensively since 1700. It is possible that most of the Sobaípuri and Gileños are now officially the "Pima" who live on the Gila River Reservation to the north. They speak a dialect of the Piman language which is mutually understandable with any of the Papago dialects, but "Pima" is not here considered to be one of them. (Numerous Pima have, however, intermixed with Papago on the extreme northern tip of the Reservation.)

It appears that five of the six Papago dialect groups on the Reservation today are descendants of three other "tribes" mentioned by Kino: the *kokololon*[3] from the "Pima proper," the *hauhauwash* from the Soba, and the *sotokŏwany, hu'hu'uhla,* and *kiy'kima* from those which were called "Papago" by Kino.

Our knowledge of these origins is speculative; furthermore, we do not have specific information about the dialect groups or their distribution, for so far no study of the dialect geography has been attempted.[4] For instance, the delineation of one of the groups (*kiy'kima*) is particularly questionable, as is the

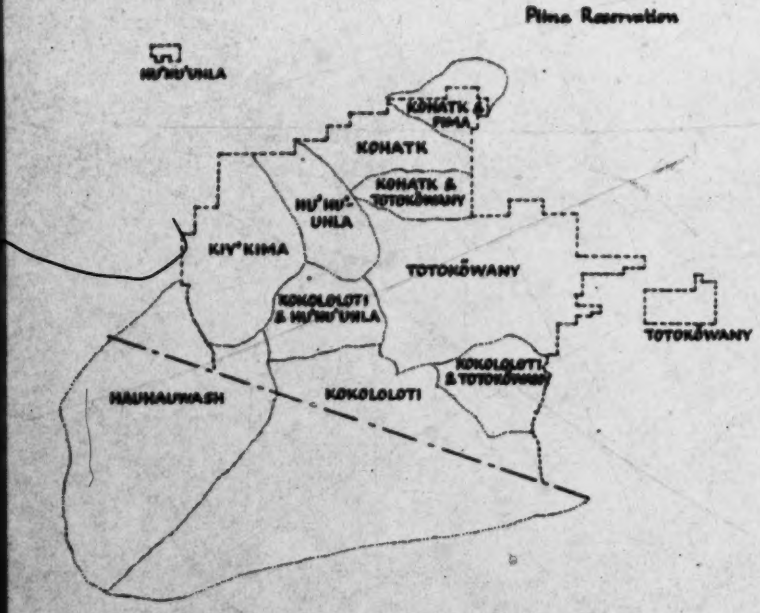
3. *Kokololoni* is plural, *kolon* is the singular. The transcription used here follows as closely as possible the alphabet devised for Papago by Dr. William Kurath, *A Brief Introduction to Papago, a Native Language of Arizona*, pp. 13–14. However, he records no *o* for Papago; where *o* is used here in Papago words, the writer (R. S.) heard it, and future, more careful work will have to determine what should be used.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

name for another (*hauhauwash*). However, the following discussion of the dialect groups, and Map V, which shows their approximate distribution, are based on material given the authors by Papago, supplemented by data from Underhill[5] and the Agency.[6]

MAP V



APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF DIALECT GROUPS ON THE PAPAGO RESERVATIONS, 1943

In the south-central and southeastern areas of the Reservation are the *kokololoti*, Kino's "Pima proper," who moved north and west from their original home in what is now Mexico. According to one informant, their name means "rattling talk," but others say that the term comes from the Spanish translation (*tecolote*) of the name of one village, Chukut Kuk ("owl hoot"), transliterated by the Papago. The *kokololoti* population is about fifteen hundred.[7] It is likely

5. *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, pp. 59–69.
6. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.
7. *Ibid.*

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

197 571 634 that their present distribution is due to their dispersion into smaller settlements from defense villages at the end of the Apache wars.

This was the area of greatest Spanish influence, and some of the people speak Spanish. They learned from the missionized Indians to the south how to raise cattle and horses. They were good horsemen long before the other groups, and to this day it is said that you cannot beat one of them in a horse race. They are also said to be impulsive. The *kokololoti* were called on to help Spanish and, later, Mexican and American soldiers in pursuing the Apache and so acquired significant numbers of guns before they were common among the northern people. This early acquisition of livestock and implements, together with more abundant rainfall in parts of the area, has doubtless been at least partly responsible for the higher economic status of this region today. *Kokololoti* acculturation began earlier and has continued more steadily than that of other Papago (see chap. ii).

North of the *kokololoti* live the *totokŏwany*, who occupy a large area in the central and eastern part of the main Reservation and all the San Xavier [101] Reservation. This group, estimated at about thirty-two hundred,[8] is perhaps the largest on the Reservation. Underhill claims the name for this group is an opprobrious nickname meaning "loose gee-string," but informants have told the writer that it describes the guttural cast of their speech. These are the "Papago" described by Kino. Of them, Underhill says: "It is this group which, tradition says, came up from underground and followed Elder Brother, finally planting their prayer stick on the site of Archie [Achi] and thence populating the land. They are the people whose ceremonies show the greatest amount of Pueblo influence. The Pima, with whom they are closely associated, seem to have provided the channel....

"The Archie [*totokŏwany*] group was the furthest from Spanish influence and acculturation has been slower there than in the south. Few of the people speak Spanish and few over forty speak any English. They did not begin to keep cattle until long after the southerners.... They retain many of the old ceremonies abandoned elsewhere."[9]

Other Papago consider the *totokŏwany* cautious and respect them for their skill as medicine men and runners, skills which were greatly valued in the old culture. Although they pride themselves on conserving the old ways, the *totokŏwany* are not the stiff-necked intransigeants of the Reservation.

The title might properly be bestowed upon two other groups, the *kiy'kima* and the *hu'hu'uhla*, both of which are located in the northwestern corner of the Reservation, the *kiy'kima* farther west and south than the *hu'hu'uhla*. *Hu'hu'-*

8. *Ibid.* 9. *Op. cit.*, pp. 59–60.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

uhla also live on the Gila Bend Reservation. These two groups have heretofore been considered as one, and even various leading eastern Papago do not agree as to whether or not they should be differentiated. However, those who live in the area concerned informed one of the authors that there are two groups, though intermarriage has carried members of one group into the other.

These two groups together number about nine hundred[10] and are probably also part of the people whom Kino called "Papago." The word *kiy'kima* means "stuck-up" or "show-off" and is applied to these people because they are said to use the word frequently.[11] Their idiom is reported to be like that of the *totoköwany* but spoken faster. According to Underhill, "Huhuhra means grandmother's children, i.e., orphans, and was bestowed on the people of Kaka, one village of the group, because they had no well and wandered about sharing those of other village units."[12] This author, who does not differentiate the two groups, says that the dialect contains many incomprehensible words, presumably ancient. She further says: "The legend is that these people did not 'come up from the underground' but are the original inhabitants of the land, driven out by the Archie [*totoköwany*] people."[13]

Eastern Papago look on both groups as being backward, slow, and conservative. In keeping with this conservatism, they have been the center of resistance to government policy in recent years, opposing or ignoring many Agency proposals, and such recent requirements as registration for Selective Service. Many of them go to work in the mines at Ajo, but they remain insistently of and for their own groups.

The other western dialect group, which some western Papago call *hauhauwash*, numbers about four hundred people;[14] they live in the area around Menager's Dam, which was added to the southwestern corner of the Reservation in 1938. Most of this group still live west and south of the Reservation, and some only recently migrated to the Menager's Dam region. These people (probably Kino's "Soba") are known variously today as *hauhauwash*, Sand Papago, Sonoita Papago, *auatokam au'autam* ("Sand Dune People"), and *so'obakam au'autam* ("Soba Tree People").

Another small group—of about three hundred people[15]—is the *kohatk*, who occupy the area north of *hu'hu'uhla* and *totoköwany*, centering around the village of Kohatk. Their dialect is very similar to Pima, and the two peoples

10. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.

11. However, A. W. Jones, who has made a study of the dialect groups, says that *kikima* is a term used of any dialect group to which the speaker does not belong.

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 65. 13. *Ibid.*

14. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.

15. *Ibid.*

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

197
571
634

have common cultural traits. As most of the *ḳohatḳ* group were under jurisdiction of the Pima Agency for some time before the establishment of the Papago Reservation, many have intermixed with Pima. Some people call them "Pima copycats." Traditionally the *ḳohatḳ* were the best fighters in Papaguería, and they are known today as "show-offs." Underhill has this to say of them: "*Kuhatḳ*, meaning something dried and burnt, was spelled by the Spaniards *Quajote*.... It figures largely in the tale of conquest and it was here in the early days of settlement that the best warriors were said to live. The Bitter Man at Kuhatk was leader in battle for his own group and for Archie.

[101]

"Archie legend says that the kuhatk people moved to get better land and thus came closer to the Pima than to Archie. Certainly they were in close communication with the Pima when Kino found them.... Though they may have once felt themselves a part of the Archie group, they now speak somewhat differently and are regarded as a separate unit. Still, it is obvious that Pima, kuhatk and Archie form a group similar in dialect and customs and that later distinctions have been arbitrary."[16]

Intermingling of two dialect groups where their territories meet is now pretty generally recognized, and these mixed groups may even have their own names. In part of Pisin Mo District, *ḳiy'ḳima* and *ḳokololoti* have mingled. Some of the *ḳohatḳ* have mingled with the Pima to the north. On the other hand, Anegam, because it remained part of the Papago Reservation while other *ḳohatḳ* villages were under the Pima, was ceremonially connected for a long time with the near-by *totoḳöwany* villages of Achi and Gu Achi, but shared a well with the *hu'hu'uhla* and maintained other contacts with them. Now the people of the Anegam area are beginning to be recognized as a subdialect group. Sells, the Agency town, is a conglomeration of people from many parts of the Reservation; here another subdialect may arise.

What is happening in Baboquivari District may be indicative of the trend on the Reservation. Here two of the largest dialects, *ḳokololoti* and *totoḳöwany*, have mixed. The older people still know which dialect they speak, but the distinction is not so clear with the children; so a subdialect seems to be arising. A further mixture is resulting from intermarriage with noncontiguous groups. A man's father might be *totoḳöwany*, his mother *ḳokololoti*, and his maternal grandmother *hu'hu'uhla*. With the present-day ease of transportation, and with young Papago meeting off the Reservation in places where they work, intermarriage is likely to increase. In time, language differences may slowly disappear, or at least take on a new face. Since many Papago leaders and also the interpreters, who come from the mixed *totoḳöwany-ḳokololoti*

16. *Op. cit.*, pp. 63–64.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

villages, travel widely over the Reservation, it is possible that the prestige they carry will eventually make their subdialect the language for the whole Reservation.

However, there is still a strong in-group feeling. Villages of the same dialect are likely to line up together on social and political questions, and there is much good-natured banter about the supposed superiority of each group. Also, outside influences have left and are leaving impressions of varying depth and extension upon the different groups. Since these influences have come from different national groups (Spanish, Mexican, American) and still come from different classes among the various nationals (priests, missionaries, teachers, ranchers, miners, and government employees), it is likely that at least the difference between dialect groups which result from differing outside influences will remain for some time.

197
571
634
186
197
571
634

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

ranges east and south of the desert, with headquarters at Hótu-Pi nikat. They probably never numbered more than 150, and Pa in the middle of the nineteenth century were attacked by an 195 epidemic which only four families survived. These remaining families retired to other areas, and for the last sixty or seventy years the sand dune country has been practically uninhabited. Underhill[17] conjectures that these people in the sand hills were ancestors of the present very poor Sand Papago who occupy the arid region west of the Ajo Mountains, around Tinajas Altas, Tule Tanks, Papago Tanks and the vicinity of Dome. Similarly Hoover[18] writes of them occupying the forbidding arid region west of the Ajo Mountains, their very existence depending upon knowledge of natural water tanks in the mountains. Also at present several small villages of Sand Papago are located around the town of Ajo and their largest remnant is at Dome and Blaisdell. He asserts that Quitobac, the old head village for the Sonoita Valley, is Sand Papago in kinship. Descendant therefrom was the Papago village at Sonoita, the now extinct village of Tak and the nearly extinct village of Quitobaquito. The village of Sonoita was a favored site as the Sonoita River is here a permanent stream.

Papago and Pima speak the same language, with but slight Pi variations. They are combined under one name, The People, Pa differentiating themselves as Desert People (Papago) and 197 River People (Pima), the designation of River People denoting 101 their dependence upon the Gila. The Papago of Southern Arizona, known in their own language as *toxono o' otam*, Desert People, have been nicknamed *papawi o' otam*, meaning Bean People, a name at one time applied only to the westernmost Desert People living in the barren region on both sides of the present Mexican border. It was not until after the mission period that those changes were initiated which resulted in the formal demarcation of Papago from Pima.

17 Underhill, *Papago*, p. 20.
18 Hoover, *Generic Descent of the Papago Villages*, pp. 261-62.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

[82] 538 west just before sunrise, their setting being considered the end of the night. Comparatively few men are considered competent to tell the old tribal stories, and it is often necessary to send a long distance to secure their services. Two men go together, one telling the stories and the other assisting him. These men tell stories four nights and, in that time, can relate the entire series, beginning with the creation. There are said to be six divisions of the Papago tribe, [197] each speaking a different dialect and having its own version of these stories. The words of the songs differ slightly in the several dialects but it is said that the melodies are always the same. The stories here presented are from the divisions of the tribe living at San Xavier and at Vomari. The more complete stories were related by Sivariano Garcia of San Xavier, who is not one of the regular story tellers but has been an attentive listener, thus learning the stories and their songs.

There are two classes of tribal stories. The first and most important class consists of stories that must be told in a prescribed order, while the stories in the second class may be combined in any desired order to form a night's story telling. To the first class belong the following: (1) The ashes people; (2) the gambler; (3) the old woman who ate the children; and (4) the peacock. To the second class belong the stories of the origin of the flute, also that of corn and tobacco, which is called the "mind clearer." The principal character in these stories is Elder Brother (also called Montezuma and Ithoi), and the more important stories relate his adventures with Earth Magician (Tcivut makai), Coyote, Brown Buzzard, Beater Wind and other personages. In each story there are pauses at about equal intervals, the usual number being three, though some stories contain only two. These pauses always occur at the same places and are introduced at points of special interest. The story teller says, "Now we will smoke," or announces the pause in some similar phrase, and the people are at liberty to lie down, walk about, or go outside the lodge. During the telling of the story they are required to sit up and pay strict attention. There is no feast in connection with the stories, but tobacco is given the story tellers before they begin their work.

113 It is not the intention of the present work to enter into a detailed consideration of Papago mythology. The only versions of the stories here offered are those that were recorded in connection with the songs. The first and second stories of the principal series are given in extended form; the third and fourth stories may be summarized as follows: There was an old woman who used to go around the villages, picking up the children and calling them her grandchildren. Then she carried them away, crushed them and ate them. At last the people decided they must get rid of her, so Elder Brother went to her house and said, "There is a big dance in the next house.

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

INTRODUCTION

197 101 Papagueria, the home of the Papago, is a barren strip of country along the Mexican border between the Gila River in southern Arizona and the Altar in northern Sonora. The northern portion of Papagueria was a part of Mexico until 1854, the year of the Gadsden Purchase. Many of the Indians speak Spanish and the whole country shows customs of Spanish origin. This country was, in the old days, always thought of as part of Pimeria Alta, the land of the Pimas, who are now scattered along the Gila River. Papago and Pima, in fact, speak the same language with only slight variations, and have for the two tribes only one name, The People, being differentiated as River People (Pimas) and Desert People (Papagos). For our purposes we may allude to the combined People as Pimans, since most statements that can be made about one branch of the Pimas are true or have been true for the other, and it is only within comparatively recent times that a noticeable difference has grown up.

197 The Pimans are a part of the great Uto-Aztecan language family which stretches from Idaho to beyond Mexico City. Their own language is similar to that of other tribes in northern Mexico, such as Opata, Yaqui, Mayo, Tarahumare, and Huichol. They were thought of by the first Spanish explorers as the northernmost of the wild tribes who stretched into the wilderness beyond Mexico City, but because of the inhospitality of their desert land they did not suffer the thorough conquest which befell the other Mexican tribes, and have thus kept many of their ancient customs intact.

197 The great missionary, Kino, came to the Papagos in 1687 and labored brilliantly for some twenty-five years. But the church could not be induced to make of this desert country the elaborate venture which he desired. Although a few priests were sent to help him the missions dwindled

18: Kelly E-4,5 (no date) 1963 NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter I

HISTORY

The modern Papago, and their effort to adjust to the American industrial civilization around them, cannot be understood apart from the traditions and values that have come down through the years from the ancestral Papago society which occupied this same region in pre-Spanish times. The contrast between the Papago society and economy of 1700 and modern American industrial life is as great as the contrast between any two societies in the world today.

Linguistically, the Papago dialects--still spoken in the vast majority of Papago homes--are classified with the Pima-Papago division of the Piman language which, in turn, is grouped with the larger Uto-Aztecan stock which is made up of Indian languages spoken from southern Mexico to the borders of Montana and Wyoming. Culturally, the Papago are related to the desert tribes of northwestern Mexico, western Arizona, southern California and Nevada.

As a group these so-called "Rancheria" cultures are characterized as having loose political organization with little authority vested in the chief or headman;

WHO--this report is about--Papago Indians

This report is concerned specifically with the role in the southern Arizona cotton harvest of over 7,000 Papago Indians who live along the Mexican border. These natives speak a Piman language closely related to others spoken from the Gila River south to the border of Sinaloa in Mexico. They call themselves the Tohono Au'autam, The Desert People.

A few hundred Desert People live on the Mexican side of the border. Some inhabit Indian rancherias--villages with houses scattered barely within sight of each other--close to the frontier, and have contacts with American Papagos. Others eke out a parasitic existence around towns of Mexicans who have taken their lands. They are said to have given up their Indian heritage and are waiting passively to die.

The thousands of Desert People in the U. S. are a people with hope and pride in being Indian. A few hundred make a living in low paid jobs in Anglo cities. They have chosen to break away from their Indian heritage in an endeavor to give their children a head start as citizens of wider Anglo-American society, especially by affording them a formal education in public schools.

Most of the Desert People, however, live in rural semi-desert areas reserved for them by the U. S. from their former territories. The San Xavier community was reserved some of its lands in 1874 by Presidential Executive Order. This 71,090 acre reserve slices through the Santa Cruz River bottoms, and could once be irrigated with surface flow (until Anglos started erosion that cut the channel--and the water table--20 feet below surface) and now is irrigated from wells. Most of it was allotted to individuals, and the useable agricultural and range land is now mostly in heirship status. That is to say its use is amazingly and cripplingly complicated by the fractionalization of holdings through inheritance. Fortunately, the San Xavier community continues to recognize old use-rights more than the legal allotment system.

Pa 658 797

There is what is termed a "contract school" located at Tucson, which many of the Papago children attend. The school is established and supported in part by a missionary department of the Presbyterian church. The buildings are large, airy, well planned, and adapted to the purpose required. The pupils seem well disciplined and clean. The government pays a stated sum annually to the school for each pupil in attendance as reimbursement for board and clothing furnished. The school owns 5 or 6 good buildings, all in good condition and well furnished, also a farm of 43 acres. On account of lack of water but few garden vegetables are grown, but barley and wheat yield abundantly.

Some of the scholars are taught carpentering, painting, and plastering, and their work is quite satisfactory.

PAPAGOS LIVING OFF THE RESERVATION.

Pa 131 197

These Papago Indians live in the southern part of Pima county, along the southern border of the territory of Arizona. Their language is similar to that spoken by the Pimas. They roam over a country about 100 miles in width north and south and about 125 miles east and west, and there are a few small villages over the Mexican border but near the boundary line.

Pa 13 231

The country in which they live consists of broad, open plains, divided by mountain ranges. The valleys or plains are arid, having no natural springs or running streams of water; yet after the summer rains these plains are covered with grass of a fine quality, and owing to the dryness of the air this grass is cured or dried on the ground and furnishes good, rich food for cattle during the remainder of the year.

Pa 361 312 342 [231]

The Indians select their dwelling places at the foot of the mountains near the mouth of the various canyons that open out into the plains. Small springs often flow through these canyons and sink into the sand. The Indians utilize these springs or sink wells into the sand, and thus secure the underflow from the springs. Their cattle feed out into the plains and return to these wells or springs to drink. Near these watering places, usually on an elevation, the Indians build their houses in their permanent villages of adobe, about 12 by 16 feet in area and about 8 feet in height. Small poles are laid on top and crosswise of the building, and on these are laid brush, with weeds or grass on the brush, the whole covered with about 6 inches of clay, which is impervious to water. The floor is of clay, and there is one doorway, but no windows. The doorway is sometimes closed with a dried beef hide. As a rule, they live on the outside of the house. The house contains no furniture except a little bedding and some cooking utensils.

Pa [352]

Their food consists of beef, dried wild fruit, dried mesquite beans made into a kind of bread, and wild game. During the summer rains they raise some vegetables, which they dry for winter use. They also sell or trade cattle to settlers in the Gila and Santa Cruz valleys for wheat and corn, which the women grind in their crude way into meal and flour. They have adopted the civilized mode of dress, and are gradually learning the use of soap.

Pa 262 439 291

The women of the tribe are virtuous and industrious, being in these traits far in advance of any other tribe in the territory.

Pa 161 648 Pa 46

There are 4,800 of this tribe living off the Papago reservation. With rare exceptions they are self-sustaining, have always been good citizens, and on many occasions have joined with the whites to assist in suppressing murderous Apaches. The principal occupation of the men is raising cattle and horses, and a little farming when they can find a piece of damp ground that will raise corn and vegetables, hunting, chopping wood around mining camps, and ordinary labor wherever they can find it. If there is any mixed blood in the tribe it is not perceptible.

There are several mining camps scattered throughout the country which these Indians inhabit, and in some of the large valleys wealthy men or companies have sunk wells 500 or 1,000 feet deep and established cattle ranches or ranges, and many Indians are employed about these camps and mines.

Pa 133 487 224

The country is somewhat difficult of access, as there are several mountain ranges running through it. The roads follow the valleys, and sometimes it is "a long way around where it is only a short way across". These mountain ranges abound in game, which the Indians hunt.

Pa 273 231

A month's travel in these Papago villages failed to reveal a single case of drunkenness, although there are frequent instances of drunkenness among Indians in the streets of Tucson. They have great numbers of horses and cattle, but it is impossible to form a correct estimate as to numbers. The horses are small and inferior, but the cattle are fully up to the average in size and quality.

Pa 648 771 797

These Indians as a tribe have always been exceptionally friendly to the white people. They have never received aid from the government. The little religion they have is a conglomerate of Roman catholicism, superstition, and Indian bodoolism. The Roman Catholic church established missions among them more than 150 years ago.

THE RESERVATION AND NONRESERVATION PAPAGO INDIANS, PIMA AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent C. W. Wood on the reservation and nonreservation Papagos of Pima and Cochise counties.

Pa 101 Pi [101] Pa [797]

TRIBAL NAME.—The Papagos and Pimas were formerly one tribe. Authorities differ as to the derivation and meaning of the name. One view is that Papago means "hair cut", another that it means "baptized". Neither of these meanings has any etymological basis or value. The most reasonable derivation of the term seems to be the following, derived from conversation with the oldest Indians: the division of the Pimas occurred from the labors